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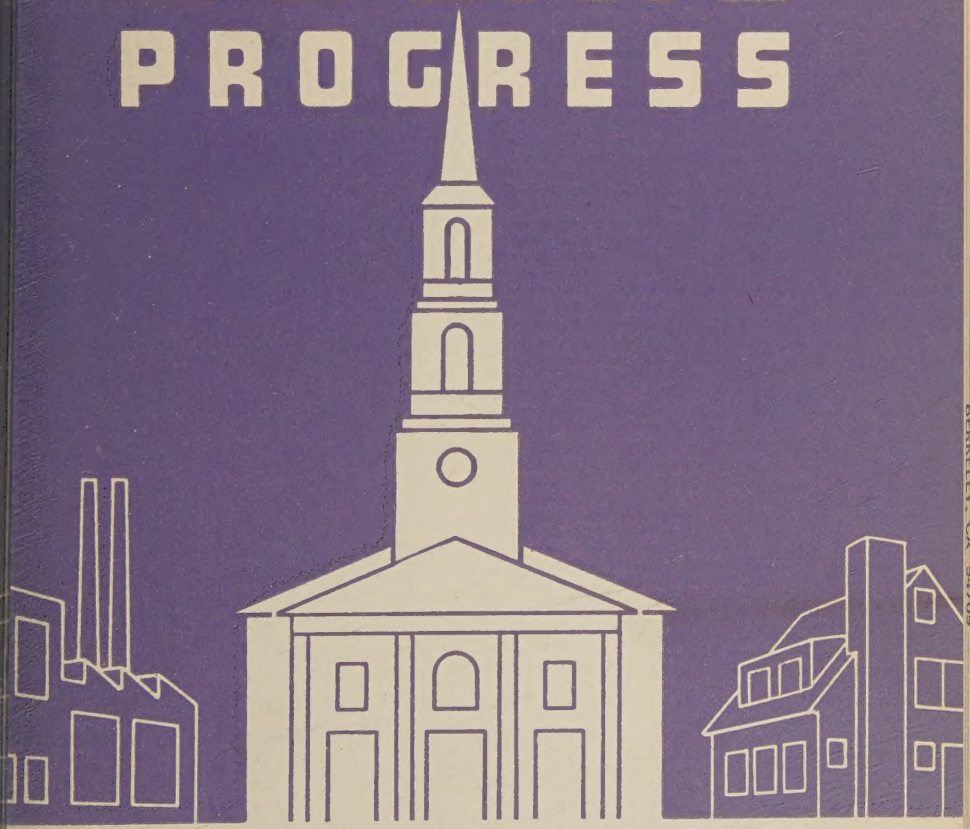

allenge to Christian Education

hat Can the Jew Do?

mmunity in Suburbia

APRIL 1945

SOCIAL PROGRESS

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Contents

Articles **Page**

I Met the Master, *Oswald W. S. McCall* 1
Challenge to Christian Education, *by Samuel L. Hamilton* 2
Universal Compulsory Military Training—*Pro and Con* 4
What Can the Jew Do? *by David L. Cohn* 7
The Controversy Over Henry Wallace—*Information Service* 9
The Bretton Woods Plan, *by Edward E. Brown* 13
Community in Suburbia, *by Gladys Keable* 15

Editorial Comment

For Times Like These 16

World Order Movement

Commitment and Action 20

Sanctuary

The Urban Church Celebrates Rural Sunday 26

Departments

The Workshop 22
About Books 31
Study and Action 33
Current Films ..... Back Cover

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Social Progress

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I Met the Master

I went walking and I met the Master.

"I am glad we have met," said I.

"Have we met?" said he. . . .

Then I looked at him afresh because of this tone of his, and hesitated, unsure what else to say.

* * *

"I have wished much to meet you, good Master."

"When they wished to share my 'throne' I asked them if they were able to share my 'baptism' and my 'cup.' Very lightly they declared that they were able! And you have wished to meet me. Are you able?"

I glanced upward. The sky's blue eyes were watching. The wind shook a tree and waited. All seemed very still . . . except that my heart within me gave one strong throb. I did not know if it were of expectation, defiance, or defence.

"I do not understand," I said. "Here you are, Master, and we have met."

"Then you have met fire. Are you burned?"

"Master?"

"You have met pain. Do you suffer?"

"Master, what —?"

"You have met the lightning, the earthquake, the whirlwind. You are shaken, riven, if you have met me."

So he turned his back and went.

And the golden poppies were about my feet. I saw them, for my eyes were downward as I wondered what he meant.

*—Oswald W. S. McCall.**

* From *The Hand of God.* Reprinted with permission from Harper & Brothers, Publishers.

Challenge to Christian Education

By Samuel L. Hamilton *

CHRISTIAN education, we believe, is relevant to every problem, domestic and foreign, social and individual, that confronts the American people. Let us, then, begin our discussion by stating some of the presuppositions that should govern our thought and action.

Human nature is educable. This is our basic postulate. Unfortunately there are in our world today many men of ill will, indoctrinated skillfully in hatred, arrogance, racism, and aggression. Among these are Germans and Japanese. But all such persons are not to be found in Germany and in Japan. Some are among us. Some are our own people. Germans and Japanese and doubtless some of the other nations, including our own, will have to be restrained until they can be re-educated. But it remains true also that they are human and therefore educable. We and they can learn, can be reconstructed. Education has limits but within those limits it must be trusted and used. Immanuel Kant once said, "To love your enemies is to believe them capable of improvement."

All personal growth and achievement is interpersonal. Great individuals are made by meaningful relationships with others in great causes. The spiritual life arises in the individual in the struggle between the claims of self with its appetites and desires, comforts and indulgences, and the claims of the general welfare. At the point in our experience where the enhancement of other persons and enrichment of the social life pull more strongly than our individual personal selfish interests and lead to their subordination to great social purposes, then truly we begin to be great souls, however inconspicuous may be the station in life in which we find ourselves.

There are fateful, decisive moments in the lives of individuals and of societies. At these moments, a brave decision on the basis of knowledge of reality means an advance to heights scarcely dreamed before, while the opposite choice, or the failure to act, means slipping back the long, slow descent to mediocrity. Crisis times are times of potential greatness as well as times of the judgment of our littleness.

This moment in the history of Western civilization is such a time. The crisis is unparalleled. The Persian invasion of Greece, the epic struggles of the Romans with the

* Professor of Religious Education in the School of Education of New York University. From *Social Questions Bulletin.* Reprinted with permission.

Carthaginians in three great wars, the barbarian invasion of Rome, the defeat of Islam at Tours, the Renaissance, the French Revolution, the Napoleonic Wars—all these, crucial in the world's history as they have been, are not to be compared with the manifold crisis that confronts mankind today. It is a crisis military, economic, political, cultural, religious, and individual in the personality structure of vast multitudes of people. It is a time of danger, not so much from foreign foes as from our own reluctance to seize the opportunity and move on into the promised land of personal and national greatness. We may, if we do the right things, organize society for a new outflowering of Christian civilization. We may also, however, for a second time within a generation, allow nervous, emotional, and spiritual exhaustion to overtake us, and if we do, we may again wallow in a period of "normalcy," while sinister forces gather for the third assault upon Western civilization and upon the spiritual life of mankind.

Tasks awaiting decision and action. The most significant question confronting the American people in 1945 is probably this: Can we become great enough, soon enough? The times call for greatness, for statesmanlike vision, for unselfish devotion, for patience and poise in dealing with combat fatigue and war neuroses in ourselves and in our foes. I mention briefly three ad interim tasks for immediate attack, and six longer-range tasks for which we as Christians must work.

Relief, reconstruction, and rehabilitation. This is unquestionably first in order of urgency. When the Germans and Japanese have laid down their arms, war will not be over. There will still be the war against famine, pestilence, chaos, crime, and lawlessness. The educational activity of the Churches should motivate the people, in and out of the Churches, to share in this work, which is the basis of reconciliation.

Justice for war criminals. The keenest Christian discrimination must be exercised to support movements to punish, without hatred, criminals guilty of violations of existing international laws, whether or not their Governments have unilaterally denounced those laws. Without destroying the national life of enemy countries, just ways must be found to prevent the rearming of those who have for generations disturbed the peace of the world.

A policy for colonies, dependencies, and mandated areas. The Christian principle of the inherent sacredness of personality and its limitless value must be implemented in dealings with colonial peoples, particularly colored peoples and those with backward cultures.

(Continued on page 28)

Universal Compulsory Military Training

This subject is gaining increasingly the public consideration it deserves. Many Church, educational, and other groups have gone on record about it. The following articles by two eminent educators give the pro and con of the issue.

In Support

By William Mather Lewis *

No thinking citizen of the United States can ignore the matter of future national military policy. Obviously there are widely divergent views on this matter. We must consider all phases of the matter objectively, laying aside prejudices. Only a short time ago a group of college and university presidents addressed a letter to President Roosevelt setting forth certain points of view. In it we said:

"We whose signatures are appended in this letter believe that this proposition should be thought through now while we are conscious of the reality of a world at war. We are better able at this moment to reach a wise decision on this important matter than we will be after the war is over, when again we shall be lulled by a false sense of security. We know too well the reactions that occur after a conflict is over; the general desire is to 'forget it.'

"The adoption of a sound plan for universal military training now will enable the United States to speak with greater authority at the peace table in favor of an international organization to enforce peace.

"The adoption now will reassure the other peace-loving nations of the world that the United States purposes to co-operate with them in outlawing war. We believe that it is more fitting in our form of government to ensure national security through the proper system of universal military training than through the maintenance of a large standing army.

"The adoption of the proper plan of universal training now involves no perpetual commitment. If out of the coming discussions among the nations an effective international plan to ensure peace should emerge and the unrighteous ambitions of aggressor nations should be permanently blocked, the Congress would always have the authority to modify or abrogate the military training system."

In commenting on this letter an editorial writer in *The New York Times* said: "Every one of our present allies is waiting for evidence to show how

* President, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.

effectively we intend to keep our present promises to help to maintain world law and order. We can effect and affect favorably large decisions in the field of international politics if we act now on the question of post-war military training. We shall lose the opportunity to exert this influence if we postpone our decision." This editorial stresses our point as to the immediacy of the problem. No one who recalls the peace conference of 1919, and the growing disregard of Germany for its stipulations, can overlook the part which our national policy of "forgive and forget" had in encouraging the present conflict.

That is the crux of the matter. We who believe in a strong military policy *now* believe it is *because we love peace and hate war.* We are all working for an international organization so well devised and so effective that it will make future wars practically impossible. But until the aggressor nations honestly repudiate the war lords and join in the effort to reconstruct the world, we maintain that it is foolish for us to drop our guard as we did after the last war.

The President's statement clearly states that "the adoption of the proper plan of universal training now involves no perpetual commitment. Congress would always have the authority to modify or abrogate the military training system." Opponents of universal military training maintain that it does not prevent aggression and that it breeds a militaristic attitude. Anyone can find the answer to that assertion in the recent history of Switzerland, a country that has an intelligent system of universal military training.

It should be noted that the President's letter calls for a *sound* plan of military training. We do not believe that an arbitrary plan of routine military training worked out by military men without the co-operation of educators and public leaders is in keeping with the American way. The plan must be flexible and adapted to varying types of individuals as is the Swiss system. It may not be necessary to devote an entire year to such training to obtain satisfactory results. For example, if college students received sound training in military science during two years of their course; if they received a thorough grounding in such subjects as mathematics, physics, and electrical communications, that might suffice. In addition to the work during college years students could spend two summer vacations with pay in camp and thus would be properly prepared to be reserve officers. In addition they could be in camp for a few weeks during the years just after college for refresher courses in military science and for field work.

For the summer work, existing military camps which will be unoccupied

after the war will be available. Here the close association of youth of different economic grades, racial backgrounds, religious creeds, would demonstrate to them the foolishness of artificial class distinction, the mutual interest of employer and employee, and the advantages of full understanding and loyal co-operation. Here much-needed physical fitness would be promoted. Here all would gain a new vision of what America means. These things are but suggestions. We need a system of universal military training which is in accord with the American way of life. If it is to be effective, we should adopt such a system at this time when future world security rests so much upon American strength. If we wait for the development of a perfect plan, the moment of opportunity permanently to discourage aggressor nations will have passed.

In Opposition

By Paul H. Bowman *

The Seventy-ninth Congress has on its docket of legislation one or more bills dealing with the problem of compulsory military training. The best known of these bills is the May Bill, which bears the number H.R. 3947. The issue to be decided is very clear: Shall the United States of America establish a system of universal compulsory military training as a permanent policy? Since the details of the proposed system have not yet been disclosed our reaction must necessarily be confined to the bill itself, to the general principle upon which the system rests, and to the manner in which it may affect the objectives which our colleges seek to serve.

First: The experience of European nations for the last two hundred years is in sharp disagreement with the premise upon which the May Bill is based. The statement that the experience of World War II "conclusively establishes the fact that the lack of universal military training in the United States has resulted in unnecessary wars" is open to serious question. This statement, which appears in Section 2 of the bill, is without factual support and is lacking in genuine perspective.

It would be nearer the truth to say that the system of compulsory military training adopted by France in 1793, by Prussia in 1807, by Japan in 1873, and by every important nation in Europe except Great Britain between 1875 and 1914, had engendered such international fear, suspicion, and

(Continued on page 29)

* President, Bridgewater College, Bridgewater, Virginia. Condensed from a statement read at the meeting of the National Commission on Christian Higher Education of the Association of American Colleges, January 10, 1945.

*What Can the Jew Do?**

David L. Cohn

IN SEPTEMBER, 1944, the Washington, D.C., *Star* published the following item:

> The Citizens' Committee on Race Relations plans to meet in the near future with leaders of the National Conference of Christians and Jews as the first step in its move to combat what the committee said was "growing" anti-Semitism in Washington. . . . The chairman declared that "anti-Semitism is definitely bad and apparently growing worse in Washington. It will challenge the very best we can do about it."

From other sections of the country come similar reports of growing anti-Semitism while liberal Gentiles and alarmed Jews seek means to combat this hatred which menaces not only American Jews but the whole American democratic system. The old lies and some new ones are repeated over and over.

Week after week these monstrous charges are refuted by Jewish and non-Jewish authorities, but they continue to be made and apparently gain force with the telling. It seems useless to demonstrate that Jewish wealth is simply in proportion to the number of American Jews; that Jews are an almost negligible influence in banking and in such powerful industries as oil, steel, railroads, automobiles, chemicals, meat packing, communications, shipping, coal, aluminum, farm implements, shoe-manufacturing, aviation, lumber; that in Gustavus Myers' *History of the Great American Fortunes* Jews play a trivial role; that perhaps the amassed wealth of all the Jewish millionaires in the country would scarcely equal the two-billion-dollar fortune of only one Gentile—Henry Ford; or that Jewish influence is predominant in only two smaller branches of American industry, the garment trades and the movies, both of which were pioneered by Jews.

Of what benefit is it to show that from the Revolutionary War to this one Jews have fought and died in proportion to their numbers and have often earned awards for gallantry out of proportion to their numbers? It is unhappy enough to be accused of lack of patriotism. But it is a melancholy thing indeed when such accusations sometimes drive Jews to boast of their patriotism so that one cannot even die quietly for one's country; when there is read into the Congressional Record page upon page of the names

* *The Saturday Review of Literature*, January 27, 1945. Reprinted with permission.

of American Jews who have died, been wounded, and won medals for bravery in this war. None of this matters. The same old charges are made just the same.

What does it profit Jews to prove the largest press proprietors in the United States are non-Jewish? Or that the Jewish-owned *New York Times* is by universal consent one of the ornaments of world journalism, if not the world's best newspaper, distinguished for its lack of bias as well as for its news coverage.

We have long had a genteel anti-Semitism here. It is expressed in part by the exclusion of Jews from certain resort areas, hotels, apartment houses, clubs, schools, and college fraternities. More important, Jews are admitted into many privately endowed schools and universities only on a quota basis. The quotas are especially limited in medical schools and numbers of Jewish medical students. It so happens that Jews brought medicine to Europe when they entered Spain with the Moors in the seventh century, but this makes no difference. Similarly, one finds here a marked economic discrimination against Jews on the part of many employers who welcome them as customers but not as employees.

But latent anti-Semitism, even of the genteel High-Church variety practiced by some of the nation's well-bred people, is not necessarily static. It may readily become dynamic in a period such as this of profound unrest, insecurity, and fear. For, it must be remembered, the anti-Semite is generally a man suffering from a sense of inferiority, and few things give rise to a more violent hatred. The combustibles of violent anti-Semitism are present in all anti-Semites whether American or German.

There is now a rising anti-Semitism here. It would be reckless under the circumstances to say it could never assume a violent form, and no minority with a tragic history such as that of the Jews can go upon such a comfortable assumption. Consequently there are few American Jews who now do not feel insecure to some degree, and their insecurity is shared by all Gentile democrats who know that anti-Semitism is almost invariably the forerunner of tyranny for all. If, however, appeals to reason fail, if Christian charity dies and love is superseded by hate, to what and to whom shall Jews appeal?

In my opinion they should make no appeals at all but conduct themselves as good citizens according to their lights and await the verdict of the majority with calm dignity. Certainly it is intolerable that one should be in a position where one can be constantly called upon by any vulgar passer-by to justify one's right to a decent place in society. I, for one, should prefer extinction

(Continued on page 30)

The Controversy Over Henry Wallace *

The action of the Senate toward the confirmation of Henry Wallace as Secretary of Commerce is only a small part of what is involved in his nomination and the subsequent discussion. The following article is a penetrating summary of the main issues in the situation.

THE contest that broke out suddenly over the President's appointment of Henry Wallace to be Secretary of Commerce needs to be seen in the perspective of political and economic developments over the last few years. Intelligent and honest opinion is sharply divided, because the issue runs deep, because the economic situation is full of uncertainty, and because there are many personal and political factors that enter into the picture.

The Basic Issue

A reading of press comments pro and con indicates that on both sides the fundamental question is recognized; that what is happening is a long-delayed showdown on the New Deal. The disclosures contained in Jesse Jones's testimony concerning the tremendous power exercised by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, together with his robust avowal of conservative views, show the extent to which the Administration, for all its prolabor attitude and the "hostility" that business complains of, has been financially conservative. The issue is sharpened by the fact that Mr. Wallace's supporters have been able, in replying to the contention that he "lacked experience," to point to a vast amount of experience he has had in administering Government loans (though not, Mr. Jones insists, with anything like the discretionary powers lodged in the latter's organization) and to a very substantial success in private business. The real question is, manifestly, not one of ability, but of policy.

What Mr. Wallace Wants

Mr. Wallace set forth his program before the Senate committee as a bulwark of private enterprise. He believes that only the stabilizing of employment can prevent economic collapse. It will be recalled that in 1943 he made a vigorous speech denouncing monopolies and calling for freer competitive enterprise. His position is that the American economic system is the best in the world, that Government enterprise is distinctly inferior to private enterprise, and that what the "common man" needs is a chance to help himself. Also he holds that "free enterprise in the American tradition can flourish only by doing a large volume of business

* *Information Service*, February 10, 1945. Department of Research and Education, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. Condensed with permission.

at a small profit per unit." This last is the doctrine that economists of the Brookings Institution have been preaching for years. In particular, he wants small enterprise stimulated.

Again, when Mr. Wallace comes to specify the role of Government he makes very familiar recommendations. "The basic function of your Government in taking care of any such slack in jobs is to see to it that private enterprise is assisted until it can absorb this slack. This is entirely possible. . . . We must have a reservoir of planned and approved federal, state, and local projects ready to be tapped. And when employment falls below this floor of 57,000,000 jobs, this reservoir of planned and approved public works should be opened up to provide more jobs and take up the slack. . . . In fact, the knowledge that Government accepts this responsibility of maintaining a floor under jobs will act as an immense stabilizing force on the whole economy."

Mr. Wallace wants no WPA. Public works must not produce "Government or 'relief' jobs, however. No, they should produce private jobs. This is possible if we insist that this construction be done by private firms under contract with the Government." This principle was substantially endorsed by editors of *Time*, *Life*, and *Fortune* in 1942, by the National Resources Planning Board, and by other advocates of a "mixed" or "compensated" economy. For several years conservative business leaders have been saying that if private industry does not overcome mass unemployment, the Government must inevitably step in. Mr. Wallace seems to want the process regularized so that the state will not, in a crisis, "step in" for good.

The program he outlined to the Senate committee covered the entire range of the President's eight-point Economic Bill of Rights. Attention is focused here on the goal of full employment, since it is the key both to Mr. Wallace's program and to the opposition which it has aroused. The full statement, quoted by him from the President's recent message to Congress, is as follows:

"The right to a useful and remunerative job in the industries or shops or farms or mines of the nation;

"The right to earn enough to provide adequate food and clothing and recreation;

"The right of every farmer to raise and sell his products at a return which will give him and his family a decent living;

"The right of every businessman, large and small, to trade in an atmosphere of freedom from unfair competition and domination by monopolies at home or abroad;

"The right of every family to a decent home;

"The right to adequate medical

care and the opportunity to achieve and enjoy good health;

"The right to adequate protection from the economic fears of old age, sickness, accident, and unemployment;

"The right to a good education."

Planning

Both Mr. Wallace and the opposition to him believe in private enterprise; also, they see the abolition of mass unemployment as primarily a responsibility of private enterprise; and, finally, they are not at odds over the proposition that if private enterprise is unable to achieve this it becomes ultimately a responsibility of the Government.

But there are vital differences underlying all these agreements. Mr. Wallace speaks as one already convinced that private enterprise cannot alone accomplish the task of full employment, while the spokesmen for business enterprise for the most part seem to hope that Government intervention will not be necessary, or at least that it should not be taken as a matter of course. Mr. Wallace thinks the major risks of business, as of health and livelihood, should in some measure be socially insured.

This is the heart of the matter, and it probably accounts for the bitterness of the reaction in business circles—though not among all businessmen—to Mr. Wallace's appointment. Businessmen might express the matter thus: It is one thing to know that if you fail in business you will have to go through bankruptcy proceedings; it is quite another thing to make all your business plans on the assumption that you are going bankrupt. The difficulty here is fundamental, and the Wallace appointment brings it to the fore. He wants the Government to act as if it may have to assume some of the responsibility for keeping the national plan going.

This involves national planning. Those who fear and dread it can plausibly contend that the "private enterprise" thus encouraged is not the old type of free enterprise and that its incentives are problematical. On the other hand, those who insist that the country has had the last gamble on mass unemployment it can afford are able to point to the melancholy record of the business cycle. Taxed with trying to foist "untried" theories on the country, and to "remake the world," they can call for a "look at the record" of recurrent failures within private enterprise. From their point of view, only with a modicum of planning can complete disaster to the economic system be avoided.

There is also the grim specter of a public debt so great as to strangle enterprise. Mr. Wallace has not said that the debt is unimportant. He wants to see it retired in orderly fashion. But he has great faith in the possibility of maintaining full

employment at a high production level, and there is no dispute as to the possibility of handling the prospective debt if that level can be maintained. But if not? Since Mr. Wallace's plan is not socialism but a "mixed economy," it involves securing the vigorous co-operation of private enterprise. If that is not forthcoming, no matter where the blame may be placed the temptation to resort to the printing presses to bolster a collapsing budget is obvious.

Abundance and Scarcity

What was said above applies to the large number of serious-minded and honest partisans on either side in this battle. It must be said, however, that the issue is clouded by misrepresentation. This has occurred on both sides, as is usually the case. The question of motive is not raised here. The charge that Mr. Wallace is advocating state socialism or totalitarianism is obviously baseless, whether or not his proposals would work out democratically. But the charge that he is the author of a doctrine of economic scarcity, equally untrue, gains some plausibility from the fact that in 1933 the Agricultural Adjustment Administration plowed under cotton and killed little pigs. What is overlooked or obscured is the fact that the limitation of output in order to protect price is a well-established practice in a capitalist economy resulting from an "administered price" policy geared to immediate rather than long-run objectives. The Brookings Institution publications have been trying to educate business executives away from this policy, to which Mr. Wallace in 1933 made a very reluctant concession. His whole program is designed to implement an "economy of abundance." Whether it can be done or not is the major economic question to which the present generation must address itself.

Thomas L. Stokes, who has been a sharp critic of the Administration, writing in the *New York World-Telegram* for January 29, deplores the cries of: "Impractical! Idealistic! Visionary!" that greet Henry Wallace's pronouncements. Many business and industrial leaders have, he says, made similar proposals. Referring to the depression days, he said: "It was not the bankers who saved that situation, but a political leader who gave the people courage and hope so that they could pull together and work themselves out. But it must be said for the bankers and the captains of industry that they pitched in to help, and some of them were able to accommodate their thinking to change and were ready with solutions here and there . . . .

"Something more is needed. And the people know it. There's no way to fool them. That's why Henry Wallace catches their imagination."

The Bretton Woods Plan

By Edward E. Brown *

Co-operation on the financial level of international life is of paramount importance. The United States Senate has before it the agreement toward that end reached last summer by a United Nations Conference. An understanding of the problems and solutions involved in this agreement is urgently needed by leaders of public opinion. The article that follows is by a member of the banking community who was also a member of the official delegation from the United States at the Bretton Woods conference.

THE United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference, held at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, for three weeks in July, was attended by the representatives of fourty-four nations. The conference met on the invitation of the United States and was the outgrowth of a series of informal bilateral discussions, beginning almost eighteen months before the conference met, among technicians of thirty different countries.

The conference produced two agreements for submission to the various Governments represented, one providing for the formation of an international monetary fund and the other for an international bank for reconstruction and development. Each of the two organizations as proposed is distinct and separate from the other, and each has a different purpose, although the two organizations supplement each other. The international monetary fund is designed to assist the various countries of the world in settling balances due on current accounts, to promote exchange stability, and thus to facilitate the extension of a balanced growth of international trade. The bank for reconstruction and development is designed to encourage the exportation of capital for productive purposes from countries that are in position to export capital to countries devastated by the war or economically undeveloped. Both institutions represent a co-operative international effort to solve problems for the common benefit of all the nations of the world. The management of both institutions is to be elected by all the countries subscribing to them.

A country cannot create or maintain any considerable degree of internal economic activity without a currency in which its citizens have sufficient confidence to make them willing to take it in trade with each other and to make contracts running for at least short periods in terms of that currency. At the present time lend-lease and other devices give an artificial appearance of stability

* Board Chairman, First National Bank of Chicago. From an address made before the Chicago Association of Commerce, January 17, 1945. Condensed with permission.

to many currencies. Once peace comes, unless something drastic is done to bring about currency stabilization, economic chaos is certain to result in many countries. Economic chaos means not only practically no international trade; it also means civil war and political unrest. In our own interest it is imperative that we act to prevent postwar currency chaos from developing in the countries of the world.

The proposed international monetary fund is essentially a cooperative arrangement under which each country party to it agrees to make available to the other members an amount of its currency and gold equivalent to a given amount of American dollars, which amount is called that country's quota. In return, each country gets the right, subject to various limitations and conditions, to borrow money from the fund up to the amount of its quota for the purpose of paying for imports and balancing its international payments, but with the proviso that no country shall have the right to borrow more than twenty-five per cent of its quota in any one year.

A frequently heard criticism of the fund is that the world is not ready for it. If the nations of Europe are to get on their feet and are not to fall into chaos, it is necessary that at the earliest possible date they have currencies that have some degree of stability and that can be used as a basis for international trade. To say that currency stabilization must be preceded by economic reconstruction, balanced foreign trade, and balanced budgets is to put off the possibility of all these for at least a generation.

It is also argued that the fund is too large for stabilization purposes and will therefore encourage countries to delay the necessary steps to balance their foreign payments. However, it should be realized that the dislocations in trade caused by the war will inevitably lead to much larger fluctuations in the exports and imports of many countries than would normally exist, and that the amounts required to offset disequilibriums in the balance of payments in the first few postwar years are greater than would normally be the case. If one keeps these facts in mind, the total amount of the fund ($8,800,000,000) and the quotas given to the various countries of the world do not generally appear to be too large.

It is believed by many that the fund should have absolute discretion in the matter of granting or refusing credit. The proponents of this view say that it is impossible to conceive of a sound credit organization operating on any basis other than the normal basis between lender and borrower in which the lender is the sole judge of the credit. The fund agreement recognizes this fact, but

(Continued on page 18)

Community in Suburbia

By Gladys Keable *

THE war is a very ill wind indeed, but the little eddies of good which it blows around in unexpected quarters are surprising, and sometimes cheering. From time to time we see or hear of a brilliant use of the abnormal conditions of living imposed by the forces of wartime industry. But of all such manifestations of a revival of creative social living, the cynical may ask: What happens when there is no longer any necessity to congregate together? Do we then go back to keeping ourselves to ourselves?

It may be of some interest, therefore, to hear of a few stars in this wind which show the way it is blowing, even in "civvy street." If any signs of spontaneous sociability are to be found in that last stronghold of isolationism, the London suburbs, that is surely a firm indication of the state of the weather.

Civil Defense and Local Community. There are such signs in the suburbs today, and it is largely the experiences of civil defense work which have brought them into being. In these "outer deserts," as elsewhere, both in town and country, gangs of volunteers were formed to carry out the many necessary tasks of defense. "All these people have had an illuminating experience; they have made friends with their neighbors, they have come to understand some of the administrative problems of a district, or at least a street; they have worked with the clergy and with the local authorities, and they have learned how much every individual can count when he is given a chance to do so . . . . Experience has shown them that the proper way of planning things is to secure the kind of structure which ensures that individuals and small groups in co-operation shall learn to control the material and the administrative adjustment of their own immediate surroundings, and so gain larger insights into, and control over, the wider world of affairs. Where are such small groups to meet after the war? What new forms of democratic association are to make a bridge between the single powerless individual and the borough official and council whose activities he took for granted, as outside his ken, before the war? Thus, . . . where before the semidetached villa has been both the sign and often a large factor in a growing isolationism and disintegration of society, the wardens' club or even the salvage center has become the

(Continued on page 24)

* Secretary of the Town and Country Planning Association of England. From *The Christian News-Letter*, January 24, 1945.

Easter Realism

It is Christ himself who gives to the Resurrection its character and quality and, hence, its meaning. Under other circumstances the fact of resurrection would have become a nightmare of despair rather than a noonday of hope for mankind. If Pilate had "risen from the dead," the spirit and principles of imperialism would stand out eternally vindicated by the universe; had it been Simon the Pharisee, the essence of legalism would have received the Amen of the universe; had it been Caiaphas the Sadducee, the mantle of realism would have fallen upon social privilege.

But it is Christ in whom the generations rejoice because "he is risen." Here is the crux of Easter. What occurred on that first Easter was not a demonstration of God's power over death by just "someone who had lived"; it was such a demonstration by One who had lived in the strength and fullness of mercy and integrity and good will and trust. The Resurrection of Christ is the demonstration of the power of mercy, not revenge; of right, not might; of good will, not selfishness; of trust, not disbelief. In the Resurrection goodness is seen to be clothed with power, and power to be directed by goodness.

We are entering another post-Easter period, looking forward to the postwar period. The latter needs the sense of realism that comes out of the first. The first cry of joy, "He is risen," needs to be sounded afresh by those who would win for the postwar world the victory that is in the risen Christ. Do we believe that in Christ, and not in Pilate and his kind, is the realism on which we can and must build the life of men and nations? Do we make Christ, and not Caiaphas and his kind, the controlling power in our outlook on life and our relation with others? Do we so "think on these things" that we may serve the eternal principles of Christ, not blindly, but with understanding? Is our response to the Easter demonstration of the power of Christ's way of life so sure and so contagious that businessman and labor leader, educator and statesman, feel themselves confronted with the realism of His principles?

The demonstration of power that lies in Easter enables us to believe that with God, not in death but in life, is ultimate victory; that not recurring world wars, but lasting peace, holds the future; that not to mass poverty and depressions but to economic justice belongs the victory; that not prejudice and discrimination, but brotherhood, has that realism that alone can overcome the world.

e These

Mass Need

Because of her world-wide holdings Great Britain's greatest area of postwar adjustment probably will be political. Because of our wealth, actual and potential, our testing will come on the economic level.

A single sentence in a current periodical sharpens this point: "Every *liberated* country today is worse, economically, than under Germany." Liberation has thrust whole populations into the abyss of total impoverishment. This is due largely to the long supply line which the United Nations has to maintain, and the use of shipping facilities for the military necessities of the fighting in Europe. This is a cold fact of modern warfare.

"The United States is the one great country whose living standard has been improved by war." While not everyone in the United States is on the level of even the minimum standard of living, yet the American people as a whole have a better standard of living after three years of war than before Pearl Harbor. This facts sets us apart from the other nations.

Over vast areas of the earth the picture is one of hunger that is immediate; of devastation of homes and fields that will take time to restore; of razed cities, scorched earth, and destroyed industrial plants whose reconstruction will stretch out over the decades and even the generations. It is neither their desire nor ours that we dispense to these people our wealth as a matter of charity, keeping them in a continued condition of dependence upon us. But unless we out of our plenty help them to help themselves, their continued impoverishment will in the long run impoverish us. The spirit and vision of the Lend-Lease program, formed for war needs, is needed now: a vision of solidarity in the face of a common need; of mutuality in sharing the strength of each for the good of all.

In the area of immediate relief UNRRA is an instrument that embodies that vision; in the field of currency stabilization and long-term credit the Bretton Woods Agreement is an effort in that spirit; the proposed food and agricultural administration is the spirit applied to the need for increasing the supply of food the world around.

Members of Churches as such have no special competence in the technical aspects of such international instruments. But with the manifestation of that spirit in a way commensurate with the mass need of these times the people of our Churches have not only an obligation but a privilege in the name of Christ who declared, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

The Bretton Woods Plan

(Continued from page 14)

at the same time the right to draw upon the fund is a right subject to conditions, except as to initial borrowing, which cannot exceed twenty-five per cent of a country's quota. If the fund finds that a country is using its borrowing power in a manner contrary to the purposes of the fund, it may limit further borrowings or declare the country ineligible to use the resources of the fund. Every country desiring to borrow from the fund, including its initial borrowings, must represent that it presently needs to borrow in order to make current payments which are consistent with the provisions of the agreement. And, the fund may postpone initial exchange transactions with a member country if it believes that country's condition is such that it cannot use the fund for the purposes for which it is intended, or except in a way prejudicial to the fund and its members.

The fund is not intended to set up a fixed gold standard and tie all the currencies of the world to gold. But the fund does make such changes more difficult, and does ensure that they will not be undertaken lightly. As a compromise between rigidity and flexibility the very fact that the fund is being attacked both because it ties currencies too rigidly and too flexibly to gold indicates that it is probably as fair a compromise between two points of view as could be obtained. The fund should accomplish three very desirable results: first, end the nuisance of multiple currencies after the transition period; secondly, do away with competitive exchange depreciation; and, thirdly, prevent the use of currency manipulation and depreciation for predatory political and economic purposes.

The most popular objection to the fund is that except for relatively small contributions of gold by other countries the United States is allegedly the only country that will put up currency that will be really in demand. But the fund will have a very considerable amount of gold contributed by countries other than the United States. Many countries have large gold holdings and dollar balances which they will presumably use before drawing on the fund.

If the United States recognizes the fundamental truth that a creditor nation must ultimately accept payment for its exports in goods, using the word "goods" to include services, the fund should be able to work indefinitely without the dollar's becoming scarce. It is to hoped that before the dollars in the fund have become scarce the American people will have come to a greater maturity in their economic thinking and will radically change their present tariff policy.

Even though the dollar is declared scarce and remains so, our contribution to the fund would not be lost. It would be frozen, to be sure, and we would lose interest on our contribution. But, barring another general world war, we could, over a period of years, convert our claim against the currencies of most of the nations held by the fund into goods and thus get most of our money back. The fund would still continue to function and the currencies of other countries would continue to be interchangeable at the parities fixed from time to time by the fund even though not convertible into dollars. This would benefit international trade and thus our own trade. Meanwhile, by our contribution to the fund we would have made possible the stabilization currency in war-devastated countries and by helping them in this way to restore their economics we would greatly increase the chance of political stability, without which there is no chance for peace and general multilateral trade. And without these there cannot be continuing prosperity either in this country or the rest of the world.

U. S. Must Aid Nations

Critics of the international monetary fund realize that the United States must in its own interest help the rest of the world to get on its feet after this war is over either by gifts or by furnishing credit and taking credit risks. Some considerable degree of currency stabilization is generally recognized as one of the indispensable things which must be provided for a reconstructed world economy.

No other plan has been suggested which involves less risk to the American people than the fund, even assuming that we still continue indefinitely our high tariff policy.

The other plan drawn up at Bretton Woods is that of the international bank for reconstruction and development. The argument for such an institution is based on two premises, both of which I believe to be sound. The first premise is that the export of capital by a country like the United States, which is in a position to do so, to countries that have been devastated by the war or are economically undeveloped and can profitably use such capital, is a benefit not only to the particular exporting and importing countries but also to the other trading nations of the world. The second premise is that after the experience of the '20's and '30's with foreign loans no considerable amount of money will be loaned abroad, by Americans at least, at reasonable rates of interest except under some adequate Governmental guarantee.

Since, however, the export of surplus capital by a country benefits not only itself and the receiving country but also all the other trading nations, it is only fair that the risk involved in such lending should be shared by all such countries and not borne entirely by the exporting country.

The proposed bank developed at Bretton Woods will have a subscribed capital of $10,000,000,000, of which the United States' subscription is $3,175,000,000. The subscriptions of other countries generally correspond to their quotas in the international monetary fund. The bank will be governed by a board of directors representing the various countries, and the voting rights of these directors closely correspond with the subscriptions to the capital stock of the electing countries.

The bank is designed to operate primarily by guaranteeing loans for specific projects such as railroads, harbor works, and steel plants. Every loan made must be for a specific project which has been investigated by the bank as to its desirability and which it is believed will increase the productive power of the borrowing country. Every loan must be guaranteed either by the national Government of the country in which the project is located or by that country's central bank or some comparable institution. The various provisions regarding the making of loans should prevent the improvident foreign lending which occurred in the '20's.

In conclusion, I can only state that no one thinks that either the fund or the bank, or both together, will be sufficient in itself to cure the evils of the world at the conclusion of the present war. They should, however, help tremendously toward restoring something like bearable economic conditions and reasonable stability throughout the world and in developing multilateral world trade. I am one of those who believes that the United States cannot in its own interest and with safety to itself remain isolated and apart from the rest of the world. Apart from the question of military security, no considerable section of the world—not even the United States—can enjoy domestic prosperity if acute depression reigns throughout other large sections of the world. The two plans are not perfect. Both of them involve some element of risk of the money we put into them. But they represent not weeks but months and years of study and earnest effort, of collaboration and compromise made by different national interests to bring about the result that all the united and allied nations desire.

Commitment and Action

THE FOURTH PHASE

From the beginning the World Order Movement for 1944-1945 announced as its Fourth Phase a period of commitment and action during April. Since then the United Nations Conference has been called for April 25, meeting in San Francisco to take action upon the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals. It is expected that this conference will take five or six weeks, ending sometime in early June. This makes the fourth phase of the World Order Movement program of greater significance than even could be imagined last fall.

The program for the period of commitment and action in the light of both the San Francisco conference and the Cleveland conference is as follows for each local Church:

First, a United Nations Night, or series, at which time the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals will be studied in the light of the Cleveland message. It is extremely important that the people of the Churches have an understanding of these proposals, for the agreement that will come out of the San Francisco conference will be very much in line with them, although changes are, of course, to be expected.

Secondly, until the United Nations Conference adopts these Proposals they are subject to change. An informed and concerned expression by Church people will encourage our Government to press for such changes. Our Churches should therefore urge their members individually or collectively to write to the members of the American delegation, recommending major desired changes. The names and addresses of the members of the American delegation are as follows:

Edward R. Stettinius, Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

Cordell Hull, Department of State Washington, D. C.

Senator Tom Connally, United State Senate, Washington, D. C.

Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, Unite States Senate, Washington, D. C.

Congressman Sol Bloom, House of Rep resentatives, Washington, D. C.

Congressman Charles H. Eaton, Hous of Representatives, Washington, D. C

Lieutenant Commander Harold E Stassen, c/o Navy Personnel, Wash ington, D. C. (Full address unknown please forward.)

Dean Virginia C. Gildersleeve, Barnar College, Columbia University, Ne York, N. Y.

Thirdly, April 22 is the Sunday im mediately preceding the opening of th United Nations Conference. Let this b United Nations Sunday! Let the peopl of our Churches join in intercession o behalf of the delegates to the conferenc and that God's purposes of peace an justice may be furthered through the co ference.

With the ending of the United Nation Conference, it is expected that a mont will be given for the return of the del gates and the preparation of the Gover ments for submission of the agreement achieved at the conference to their respe tive legislative bodies. This will mea that sometime in July it is presumed tha the Senate of the United States will hav submitted to it for its action the a ceptance by the United States of th United Nations Organization and the r sponsibilities that go with such acceptanc It will be highly desirable that as much possible the people of the Churches hav an opportunity to become informed Christian citizens of what transpired

the conference and what is to be proposed to the Senate.

By the middle of the summer and on into the fall the American people will be confronted with the decision that they will make this time in reference to their participation in an international organization. While there are grounds for confidence that the decision will be affirmative, there are no grounds for easy complacency. Those who are members of Churches like the Presbyterian, which, through its General Assembly, has been calling for the effective participation of the United States in some kind of international organization for over a quarter of a century, will want to put the full strength of their support toward this end. The challenge of the hour must be brought by each local Church very directly to each member.

If this is to be done, it is not too early now to lay the groundwork in organization. Now is the time to constitute or to strengthen an already existing group who will take hold of the need of the hour when it strikes. A committee of six to fifteen, depending on the size of the Church, bringing together both the leaders of the Church group and individuals deeply concerned about the winning of the peace, should be constituted through action of the session. It may be called a Social Education and Action Committee or a Christian Outreach Committee or a World Order Committee. It should be holding occasional meetings for its members to become acquainted with the World Order Movement's program and its literature, to undertake plans for the United Nations Church Night, to distribute literature to the congregation and to the men in uniform, and to consider ways and means, such as public announcements, meetings, telephone calls, and home visitations, through which the membership of the Church will be helped to understand the issues involved and will be counseled as to how they may respond in effective action during the time when the debate is on in the Senate. Next month this section of SOCIAL PROGRESS will elaborate steps which such a committee should be contemplating.

What Churches Are Doing

The World Order Movement is receiving information of how local Churches have been participating in the World Order Movement. The following are samples of the World Order Workshops which have been held in recent months.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania—The Bryn Mawr Presbyterian Church, Dr. Rex Stowers Clements, minister, has a membership that lives in a widely scattered parish. On January 3 an opening meeting was held with an address by way of general introduction. On the three succeeding Wednesday nights groups met in seven homes. At each of these homes a leader took up the topic provided in the outlined guide for study. Dr. Clements reports that the attendance was much larger than could have been secured at meetings held at one place. So much interest was created that a request came for a followup. In February and March two groups met carrying on the study. In May a general meeting is to be held at which it is hoped a representative from the State Department will speak on the San Francisco meeting of the United Nations.

Oconto, Wisconsin—Rev. J. Edgar Pearson, Jr., minister of the First Presbyterian Church, writes as follows: "We observed November 12 as World Order Sunday. The sermon theme for the day met with such approval that a request came from the session for a series of sermons dealing with the general theme of the Church and the war." "The Cost of World Order was studied at the midweek services, with lay leadership." The commitment card was used at the close of the service on February 4 and the "Primer for World Order" was distributed.

Skagway, Alaska—Rev. Harold F. Fredsell, civilian chaplain pastor of the Army

and Civilian Protestant Chapel, First Presbyterian Church, writes: "You will be interested to know that our G.I.'s, the Government construction workers of the U. S. E. D., the Standard Oil employees on the pipe line, and our local townspeople are all joining in an earnest study of the World Order Movement. For the Wednesday 'Family Night' during Lent we are having discussions of *From Victory to Peace*, which we ordered from the Los Angeles Book Store."

Reports! Please send to the World Order Movement a postcard reply to these questions.

Did you, or are you, planning to hold the study groups?

The groups served (check one or more):

Church at large, young people, women, men, co-operative community.

UNITED NATIONS SUNDAY

April 22, 1945

The Sunday prior to the meeting of the United Nations' San Francisco Conference will be dedicated by the Churches to prayer and intercession for the presence and power of God's Spirit in the Conference.

In Preparation:

1. **Worship Suggestions** will be sent to every Presbyterian Church.
2. ***From Cleveland to San Francisco.*** A 16-page pamphlet for use in study and discussion groups will be available at 5 cents each.

Plan to observe this day.

The Workshop

Compulsory Military Training

The following action on the adoption now of peacetime military conscription was taken by the Presbytery of Pittsburgh. The Presbytery voted likewise to send it to President Roosevelt; the United States Senators; Congressmen from the district; Chairmen of the House and Senate Military Affairs Committee; and to the three Pittsburgh newspapers:

"The Presbytery of Pittsburgh of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., meeting in the First Presbyterian Church of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on February 13, 1945, has considered carefully, in the light of the truth it has received as a Christian body, the matter of military conscription in the United States as a peacetime measure. In the light of that truth the Presbytery has taken action opposing the adoption of such a measure for our country, feeling that inestimable harm, both to ourselves and to the rest of the world, would result therefrom.

"It would breed fear and distrust among the nations of the world, starting another vicious circle of competitive armament. It would plunge our own nation into a course of action that could end in militarism which has plagued Europe for generations. History demonstrates that peacetime military conscription does not protect any nation from unjust attack. If peace and justice are to be maintained, it can only be through co-operative not unilateral action.

"Furthermore, military conscription is not an instrument of good will but an instrument of war. Peace can live and grow only as it is implemented by instruments of good will. We therefore, as a body of Christian leaders, do most earnestly urge you to reject military conscription as a means of achieving and preserving a just and lasting peace and to use every instrument of good will at our nation's disposal

to contribute to rather than detract from an atmosphere of trust and mutual confidence.

"Above all, we urge that the instruments which we adopt to achieve a peaceful and ordered society be in accordance with the spirit of the Prince of Peace, under whose guidance our nation has thus far been richly blessed."

Youth Study Political Action

Twenty young people with a few adult advisers met in Washington during the first three days of March for the purpose of becoming better acquainted with the problems incident to social legislation in a democracy. Under the auspices of the United Christian Youth Movement these young people from various denominations met in the Capitol city. The first morning the group gathered in a committee room in the old House Office Building with Congressman Jerry Voorhees, of California. During the afternoon of March 1 the young people had the privilege of sitting in the Senate gallery while the debate was carried on the floor in regard to the confirmation of Henry A. Wallace as Secretary of Commerce. Just before going to the Senate gallery the youth had an opportunity to see President Roosevelt drive away from the Capitol after he had addressed a joint session of Congress. On Friday morning these delegates attended a hearing of the Senate Banking and Finance Committee at which Chester Boles, of the O.P.A., was the chief witness. In addition to discovering how hearings are conducted the young people also became acquainted with problems connected with the Fair Employment Practice Committee Legislation. If Christian citizens are to discharge their responsibility in a democracy, this method of becoming acquainted with the problems faced by our legislators and the ways in which the Church may contribute to the solution of these problems is an excellent procedure.

This Is America! "I am expressly commanded by Him whom I call Master to love my neighbor!" Rev. Douglas Cedarleaf, young minister of the Erie Chapel Presbyterian Church, 1347 West Erie Street, Chicago, spoke that injunction from the pulpit and put it into practice by rallying his congregation into a parade of greeting for a Negro family, new neighbors.

The Negroes, the first in the district surrounding the chapel attached to the Erie Neighborhood House, moved into an upstairs flat at 721 Throop Street on February 1. Two nights later rocks came through three of their windows. Later two more windows were broken and threats were made to burn down the old paintless, sagging frame building. One of three white families in the building moved out.

The new neighbors, Mr. and Mrs. John Henry Strong, their son, Bonnie, 10, and niece, Mary Lee Green, 12, attended the Church services yesterday after first being brought to the chapel two Sundays ago by the downstairs tenants, Mr. and Mrs. John Vilna.

At the close of the service Rev. Mr. Cedarleaf challenged his flock to follow him in escorting the Strongs home. More than one hundred, a majority of those in the little chapel, did. The American flag and the Church flag were carried at the head of the procession—Reported by Fletcher Wilson, in *The Chicago Sun*, February 19, 1945.

A Christian Clinic for Parents. The Washington City Presbytery Committee on Social Education and Action, Rev. J. Herbert Garner, Chairman, planned a clinic for parents, "to contribute to creative Christian parenthood, more Christlike, happy homes, and better-adjusted Christ-guided children of all ages—from cradle to college." The following persons shared in the leadership of this project: James A. Nolan, Ph.D., Managing Director of the Criminal Justice

Association, speaking on "Sociology in Aid of Christian Parenthood;" Harriett Ahlers Houdlette, Associate in Childhood Education for A. A. U. W., and Hazel Gabbard, Senior Specialist in Extended School Service of the U.S. office of Education, presented the topic "Educational Technique and Principles of Value in Home Management"; Rex E. Buxton, Ph.D., Consulting Psychologist, specializing in children's problems, spoke on the theme "Practical Psychology for Parents"; Joseph S. Wall, M.D., spoke on "Sane Health Principles for Parents and Children."

Racial Tensions in Washington. The March 2, 1945, issue of the *Evening Star*, Washington, D.C., carried an impressive advertisement signed "Citizens Committee on Race Relations, Incorporated," Wilbur La Roe, Jr., Chairman. The advertisement called attention to one of the pressing race relations problems being faced in the Capitol, under the caption "Will the Transportation Problem Become Worse?" "Negroes are unable to obtain employment in Washington as Platform men or to be upgraded to that position. However, Negroes are successfully driving taxicabs, trucks, and private cars. It is worth noting that in Detroit 1,150 Negroes are employed as Platform men; 1,117 in New York; 181 in Chicago; 204 in Cleveland; 225 in San Francisco; 23 in Tulsa; and 50 in Buffalo." Mr. La Roe writes that this paid advertisement is causing excitement in Washington. It may be the occasion for pointing the issue very definitely for the attention of earnest leaders.

Wheeling, West Virginia—Rev. John Arthur Visser, D. D., minister of the Vance Memorial Presbyterian Church, states that for five evenings in February and March meetings were held under the general theme "From Victory to Peace: Getting Ready for Tomorrow's World."

Community in Suburbia

(Continued from page 15)

material symbol of a new communion of persons."[1]

Wartime Experience for Peacetime Living—A Local Experiment. Naturally, most people are still inarticulate about this experience; but it is both real and widespread, and can be brought to consciousness if it is focused on some practical objectives.

The first step is to agree on what is in the most obvious and urgent need of remedy and to start from there. Where are we going to meet and keep in touch when our civil defense headquarters close down? The normal suburb has no common meeting place to which its residents can go by right and in which they can find recreation which they cannot enjoy alone, or in their own space-restricted, vacuum-cleansed homes. Before the war, this complete absence of facilities for meeting and interchange of interests did not worry us, for we felt no need of them. Now that we do, we begin to realize forcibly how amorphous is the physical and social structure of our neighborhood.

But how do we discover which of our fellow residents are like-minded with us? Of course there is the local press, but "local" for us means serving a population of 200,000, so it is not a very good means for personal contact. It is by now fairly clear to us that this kind of district is so entirely featureless that it is impossible to ask any normal resident to start taking an intelligent interest in the place as a whole. The only way for us to gain any effective insight into its needs and possibilities is to take it piece by piece, and we decide to start on our own ward.

We will call a meeting in the church hall, when we can get it for an evening. Who shall call it? There is no single person who is known to more than a fraction

[1] From *The Church and the Planning of Britain.*

of the residents. So we send round a letter, with half a dozen signatures, representing the civil defense services, the Church, the school, and our ward councilors of opposite political colors. We send it to every organization and to those individuals we think might be interested. In this we are greatly helped by the clergy, who usually know far more than anybody else about other people and their interests.

I stress these difficulties deliberately in order to drive home the important fact that the proverbial attitude of the suburban resident of "keeping oneself to oneself" has well-defined causes, some of which are physical and environmental. We have taken the complementary assumptions too much for granted: first, that there is no hope of stirring the civic apathy of those who live on the fringes of big cities; and, secondly, that big towns must just go on growing because it is beyond our power to stop them or to give them coherent shape. We need now to wrestle with both these giants (but it is really one double-headed monster) at the same time, if we are to strengthen the genuine feeling after neighborliness and after a place of one's own to help to run and to be proud of.

In spite of pessimists, our meeting turned out reasonably well, and since then we have spent several months hammering an association into shape. The civil defense committee is convinced now that it has found its peacetime job here. Instead of degenerating into an "old boys' club" wistfully looking back to the good old days of what it did in the great war, it is going to use its experience of neighborhood organization for constructive civic purposes. A week or two ago six of the committee, all independent businessmen, went to see the modest community center of a neighboring L.C.C. housing estate. Now, community centers have normally been thought of as places established for the poor (THEM) by social service (US), but we were impressed by the indications of a rich and varied social life going on in the place and came to the conclusion that this is the kind of thing which we want to establish for ourselves. The other strong feeling that we have, which runs through all the discussion, is that this is not only, or even primarily, for ourselves, but it is something we can do to prepare for the home-coming of the men and women in the Forces.

One hears of a new activity of this kind in some part of the country every few weeks. There is a group, for instance, at the next station to ours on the tube; the first three months' work they had there was to establish some sort of identity for themselves. Twenty years ago the place was a beautiful country village of less then a thousand inhabitants. Today it houses 65,000 people in a district about two and a half miles square. It is in a borough of one name, a parliamentary constituency of another, a police subdivision of another, and yet another postal area. The incoming families are from every part of England, strangers to each other, and there is not a single public hall. What sense of place can grow up naturally in these conditions? Yet surprisingly there is such a sense, and for a most happy reason: for the parish Church there has a widespread influence, and it is a witness to the power of the living Christ to join together those whom semidetachment has put asunder.

The Christian Church is one of the few bodies left which deals with people of all sorts and kinds without classifying them by age, sex, occupation, class, or in any other way, and which attempts to make them go along together. Here is a chance for Christians to show their concern for fellow citizens without the attendant suspicion that they are baiting the hook. This stirring of the dormant civic consciousness is not a new way of filling the empty pew, but an opportunity for the fulfillment of our temporal Christian duty of redeeming our own time, and, in a very intimate sense, "our own place."

Sanctuary

The Urban Church Celebrates Rural Sunday *

Readings:

The rural people are significantly numerous. Human civilization has its roots in the materials and forces of the earth. But the greatest material resource of all is the soil. Of more value to the sons of men than all gold and silver and precious stones, all coal and iron and oil, is the plant food in the upper few feet of the earth's surface. The utilization and the conservation of soil resources are in the hands of the farmers. Therefore, a program that attempts to Christianize the work of men cannot neglect the soil and the soil tiller. His task is the primal one of subduing the earth to man's basic needs.

Jerusalem Missionary Conference, 1928.

May 6, the fifth Sunday after Easter, is Rural Life Sunday, which was first observed interdenominationally in 1929. It is closely linked with Rogation Days, which have been celebrated in the Christian Church since some time prior to A.D. 475. The idea of such a celebration of rural life goes far back of that date into the dim past of history. Almost every ancient people has celebrated the time of planting. The celebration of Rural Life Sunday is an age-long custom of devout peoples, a time-honored practice of the Christian Church, and a reminder of the dependence of all peoples upon the fruits and the resources of the land.

We call attention to the responsibility of our Church to take part in the rehabilitation of rural life. We would dispel the generally accepted opinion that the Presbyterian Church is primarily a Church of urban people. The majority of our people live in small towns and in rural areas. The rural Church is the training school for leadership in the great city Churches, since the city fails to reproduce itself, and grows and maintains itself by migration from the country. We are disturbed by the continued decrease in the membership rolls of rural Churches. We must not forget that the fate of the whole Church is involved in the life of the rural Church.

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 1939.

A Litany of Praise and Thanksgiving:

O Thou, who art the spirit of calm, alive in all living things, who art to be found by those whose hearts are pure; we wait silently in thy presence to hear thy voice and to bring unto thee our thanks for all thy works of goodness and truth.

For open spaces fringed with green leaves and carpeted by the softness of the grass, where the soul flies free into the vastness of wonder;

We give thee our thankful praise.

For green pastures and dense wood, for running streams and quiet pools, for the fragile beauty of spring blossoms, for the startled retreat of timid wild creatures;

We give thee our thankful praise.

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* Prepared by Deane Edwards, Commission on Worship, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

For the promise of the creative earth at seedtime and its fulfillment at harvest, for the spirit of hope and expectancy in the hearts of men, for the comradeship of those who work in the soil;

We give thee our thankful praise.

For our brothers throughout the world and for ourselves that we may be lifted out of the sordidness and confusion which engulfs so much of mankind;

We pray unto thee, O God.

That the sunlight of thy love may heal us of all our doubt and unbelief, and the soft rains of thy patience drench our hardness of heart so that we may become good ground for thy seed of truth;

We pray thee to hear us, O God.

That thou wilt strengthen our faith and transform our wisdom and send us forth into the light of day to work and into the darkness of night to rest for the nurturing of thy Kingdom in the world;

We beseech thee to hear us, O Lord.

Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

G. Shubert Frye. (Adapted.)

Prayer of Thanksgiving:

Almighty God, our Creator and Preserver, we thank thee for this springtime, in which thou art renewing the face of the earth and quickening all things. When earth, and air, and sky are full of beauty, proclaiming blessing and praise, we bless thee, the All-good, whose mercy is boundless, whose grace is infinite. O thou ever-living and never-failing Spirit, revive and renew our life, that we may bring forth the fruit of good works, as disciples of Him who came to quicken in human hearts the seed of eternal life. Amen.

John Hunter. (Adapted)

Prayer for Rural-urban Co-operation:

O Thou who didst create all men and all things, send thy healing spirit to all who labor and are heavy-laden, in field and factory, in office and in home. May those of country and city learn of their dependence upon thee and upon one another. Teach city man and country man to practice mutual helpfulness. Give thy light to every city home and assurance of thy presence to the last man on the last farm. May thy grace be shown to those who are lonely in spite of the crowded ways of life and to those who are friendless on forgotten farms. Grant to all of farm and industry the vision of thy justice and the power to surrender to thy holy will. Arouse the hearts of all men to mercy. Usher in the commonwealth where thy peace and goodness shall reign, where men shall truly serve thee and one another forevermore. Amen.

Benson Y. Landis, from Rural Life Prayers.

Prayer for Social Justice:

Almighty God, we remember before thee the poor of the countryside. Have mercy upon those who are serfs to lords of the land. Have infinite compassion upon stanch men and women who arise early and work late and bring the fruits of their toil to an unrewarding market. Upon the landless, who live in rude shelters and whose children are prey to disease and subject to blighting influences, the wanderers from field to field and from crop to crop—upon these destitute, Lord, have compassion.

Forgive all whose greed or shortsightedness or neglect may be responsible for this condition. Lord, have compassion upon our souls, and may we all follow thee, walking in more merciful and just ways. Amen.

Mark Rich.

Challenge to Christian Religion

(Continued from page 3)

Churches that support missionary enterprises should also support the application of the Christian command, "Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ." Peoples not yet ready for self-government should be patiently prepared to earn that privilege. Criteria of fitness for self-rule should be worked out internationally, and the peoples concerned should be carefully instructed by the trustee nations in the terms and conditions for achieving freedom from outside tutelage.

World Organization Required

These three ad interim policies and the longer-range policies to preserve peace, security, order, justice, and humane progress for all men call for the establishment of world organization to maintain them. Therefore the Churches and their members as citizens should work to secure the universal recognition of certain broad principles and the willingness of nations to renounce some measure of national sovereignty in the interests of world welfare. The Churches should always be ahead of Governments and of non-Church public opinion in ethical and spiritual insights. They should dare to work for values not immediately achievable. Among these instruments of Christian ends are: a world bill of rights, a world-wide organization of responsible states, a world court, a world economic planning board, a world labor office, a world education office.

Tasks International and Intranational

Many of today's most urgent world problems are among those which we Americans have not solved within our own nation. Victory at the peace table involves world social, political, and economic readjustments. Many of the same readjustments must be made at home. We dare not postpone dealing with the world problems until we have completed the agenda of unfinished business of American democracy. It is our conviction that the world task, the national task, and the individual task need not wait one upon the other. On the contrary, we Americans can serve the world best while we work at the task of eliminating our own racism, streamlining our laws and their administration, solving our political and economic problems, and extending the scope of our own democracy. We can tackle some items of unfinished business better now than in the piping times of peace.

In summary, to meet the challenge of the day that is upon us, Christian education must be:

1. More largely *social*, rather than mainly individualistic in its aims. This social reference is not only to the world in which we are set down, but to a historical worshiping fellowship—the Church.

2. *Active and participative* in its processes rather than mainly ideational and verbalizing. Christian social action deserves a larger place in our programs.

3. Character- and personality-forming, as well as knowledge- and skill-producing.

4. Reconstructive as well as constructive. The remaking of marred lives must have a new importance among war-shaken people.

5. Adult-educating as well as child- and youth-educating. Children and youth are taught by adults. We dare not neglect the education of the parents and teachers who help to form the lives of those less mature.

Great Christian education involves the whole personality functioning purposefully, competently, joyously, in Christian fellowship for the ends of the Kingdom of love. When our whole selves are wholly committed to the whole task, we shall have Christian education fit for the time of greatness.

Universal Compulsory Military Training

(Continued from page 6)

strife among the nations of Europe that security and peace for either Europe or the rest of the world has become impossible. If universal compulsory military training is a guarantee of peace and order, then Europe should have been the most peaceful and the most orderly place on earth during the last half century.

Second: As representatives of liberal education, we can scarcely avoid misgivings with reference to any system of universal training under the direction of military authorities. The system will undoubtedly reflect the "army and navy mentality" in education, and neither we nor the country at large are ready to subscribe to the view that the only sound pattern of education is that of the military authorities. One year is a short span in human life. It is too short to improve the health of the nation materially. It is too short and too late to provide the discipline which the American home has failed to provide. But it is long enough to regiment young boys in the routine of a military system and thereby enfeeble them for life in a free society. There is in the system a potential threat to an adequate leadership in our great peacetime professions such as medicine, the ministry, and education.

Third: The Christian element in education is always endangered under any system of coercion. The Christian principle of life may accept conscription in a time of national crisis, but universal conscription as a permanent peacetime policy is quite another issue. It is not clear that we can long cherish the idea of compulsion as a policy of government and yet preserve the values to which America has so long been committed. It is also impossible to forecast what the effect of this system would have been on our democratic institutions. No nation in history has to my knowledge been able to escape the evils of militarism which have always accompanied universal military training.

Fourth: If we brush aside these considerations and grant the necessity and desirability of universal military training, we must still challenge the wisdom of inaugurating such a system at a time like this.

From the national point of view we are involved in a long and desperate war. The American people have already yielded many of their peacetime liberties on account of the national emergency. They have done this with a high degree of loyalty, sympathy, and understanding. But there is anxiety about our return to freedom after the war is over. The adoption of a compulsory system of military training planned and administered by the Army and Navy and extended as a permanent policy to the years of peace beyond the war will increase these fears and suspicions at home and divide the public mind in a time when national unity is imperative to our efforts in both war and peace.

The international situation could scarcely be more unfavorable than now for a movement such as this. We have joined other nations in promising to the nations of the world a reduction in the burden of armaments. We have promised freedom from fear of military might. We are pledged as a nation to international peace and to the necessary world organization to guarantee that peace to all nations. We can scarcely advocate peace and reduction of armaments for other nations and at the same time plan on an unprecedented scale for participation in war ourselves. The establishment of a policy of universal compulsory military training would make our proposals toward peace and order in the world appear hypocritical and would thwart our leadership in a world which is in desperate need of the best America can give.

What Can the Jew Do?

(Continued from page 8)

under these circumstances, whatever my coreligionists may think, and I, as an American Jew speaking only for myself, think it time to state what seems to me the essential nature of the case. I would be crystal-clear upon one point. I do not imply that Jews are blameless. Their virtues and vices are such indeed that at one stroke they produced Jesus and Judas. "Jews are members of the human race," wrote Mark Twain. "Worse than that I cannot say of them."

If the majority of the American people conclude, for whatever reasons, that they want to indulge in ruthless anti-Semitism, they have the power to do it. The power of the majority is overwhelming and, as Israel Zangwill said: "The Jews are a frightened people. Nineteen centuries of Christian love have broken down their nerves." But before proceeding the majority must remember one thing. The hallmark of being adult is willingness to pay for what you get. What is part of the price in this case?

First of all, anti-Semites must give up Christianity. Even the Germans realized this and, consequently, with their dreadful logic, they sought to extirpate the religion of love and peace in Germany before embarking upon war, murder, and hate.

Secondly, democracy would have to go and with it the Bill of Rights; the great books would be burned and the universities perverted; the press debauched and truth driven underground.

Thirdly, it would be obligatory again to assassinate Mr. Lincoln. The President of the United States held that a nation could not exist half slave and half free. Since, however, there is no essential difference between three million black slaves in 1861 and five million white slaves in 1944, the memory even of a man who pronounced such a doctrine must be obliterated.

Few Gentiles would willingly pay suc a price for indulging in ruthless ant Semitism, and no Christian would eve toy with the notion of making the purchas Yet even in this nation, Christian, fre and democratic, in the midst of a gre war, and with the ghastly German exampl before it, how many American Gentile are there who in their hearts agree fun damentally with the Nazis in their anti Semitic attitudes but think that the merely went too far? They would like people held in leash, a controlled hatred a disciplined humiliation which woul maim but not kill. These attitudes ar common to a great many "nice people" men and women who, by way of demon strating their broadmindedness, say, "Som of my best friends are Jews." Such per sons are the breeding ground of violenc because in the dangerous times in whic we live it may be only a short step fro genteel anti-Semitism of nice people to th brutalities of the concentration camp.

Anti-Semitism has not yet become national menace to the United States. I is only at the stage when it is a persona tragedy that humiliates, frightens, an embitters individuals. The greater pa of the task of uprooting anti-Semitis must be done—if at all—by the Gentil majority with the Jewish minority co operating. If, however, nothing is don and genteel anti-Semitism, fanned to flam by the hatred of our times, becomes a ruth less anti-Semitism, American Jews wi die and with them will die the America freedom for which men have been strug gling for two thousand years.

Even survival, however, can be boug at too high a price. A dignified death better than a lifetime of degradation an humiliation. The upright posture of ma is a biological disadvantage but a mag nificent psychological triumph. It is to much, it seems to me, to ask even of Jew who have endured so much that they b deprived of that posture of man which lif him toward the rising sun.

About Books

Abridged Lectures of the First (1943) Summer Course on Alcohol Studies at Yale University, Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol. $1.00, cloth; 50 cents, paper.

This should be read by both novices and veterans of the temperance movement. For the novice it is a splendid introduction that combines both breadth and depth in a readable way. For the veteran it will lead into new paths and stimulate new insights.

The summer school of Alcohol Studies at Yale University is destined to become a major element in a growing development of a program dealing with the problem of alcohol beverages. Unfortunately, only a few can participate in its classes. But much of the best that is in the school is in this volume. Lectures covering a wide range of subjects, each delivered by an authority, abridged so that the essential points are kept and held together by a unity of approach and concern—such are the materials within these pages.

The approach of the Yale School of Alcohol Studies is, as is to be expected, scientific, but is followed in no ivory tower atmosphere. For what is thought of as relevant to the scientific approach is broad and generous. The concern of the leaders and lecturers of the school is with the role of alcohol beverages upon human personality viewed in the light of both its inner drives and potentialities and of its individual-social context. While the school is not propagandist for any sectarian ethical or religious answers, there is within this material much that is of ethical and spiritual significance. This is true apart from the chapter entitled "The Minister's Relation to the Alcoholic," by the Religious Director of St. Luke's Hospital in New York City. For one thing, the individual is the center of concern, and not any carefully wrought pattern of facts or dogma of opinion. Also, the carefully scrutinized facts and tested opinions include the emotional, ethical, and spiritual range of human life. C.P.H.

Black Boy, by Richard Wright. Harpers. $2.50.

The story is incredible. But it is true, because it is the author's own experience. It would scarcely seem possible that any child could grow up under such conditions as Richard Wright describes, and become anything other than an antisocial being. To have known almost constant hunger, to have lived nineteen years practically without experiencing love, and to have spent much of this time in fear that he might be killed for any little mistaken reaction—these together would be enough to warp any normal personality. But, like a certain type of steel that becomes more useful and a better grade of material when it is pounded relentlessly, so this boy would not be beaten, scared, or starved out of his humanity. When he was graduated from high school he stood at the head of his class. Today he is a talented author.

The book is vivid realism, written in a gripping style. Its message disturbs the complacency of any sincere reader. The truth is a terrible indictment of some American practices. The triumph of this man's soul is a glowing tribute to other conditions in America. There are persons in the North and in the South, "morally responsible Americans," as Dorothy Canfield Fisher terms them, who are giving thoughtful and intelligent consideration to such social conditions as beat upon the sensitive soul of this Negro boy. That such dreadful things should happen to any child in America as a planned part of our way of life is almost inconceivable. That such things should continue to go on

unchallenged would mean that America had lost its soul. J.C.W.

The Great Decision, by James T. Shotwell. Macmillan. $3.00.

It is accurate to say that no group in this country has done better thinking on how an effective international organization may be built than has the Commission on the Organization of Peace. It is an open secret that the largest responsibility for the work which this Commission has done has been due to its chairman, James T. Shotwell.

This volume reveals no comfortable complacency that the setting to rights of international life will be an easy task. But the book is reassuring at two points. The author has a quiet confidence that it is possible for mankind so to relate the nations that they will be constantly using methods that will stop wars from beginning. Secondly, the author's grasp of the problem in terms of historical background and of necessary steps is so firm and inclusive that he brings the subject within the compass of understanding and possibility.

The opening section of the book deals with problems related to the liquidation of the present war, the treatment of enemy countries, of national boundaries, of the relation of small and great powers. The longer and concluding section has to do with the main factors in the organization of lasting peace. Several of these chapters are themselves worth all that is involved in reading the whole book for instance the chapter entitled "The Security of Nations."

This book should be read by all those who need understanding and courage now and in the days ahead upon the problems of peace settlements and international organization.

C.P.H.

Strategy of Peace, by Henry M. Wriston. World Peace Foundation. $1.00.

This book, by the president of Brow University, is a constructive contributio to the thinking we have to do these day Dr. Wriston speaks as a historian. Hi perspective gives a helpful interpretatio to many concepts with which Churc leaders have to deal every day. In Par I, "War and peace," he sharpens the out line of these two terms. First he clarifie such a concept as "total war," and put it in its place, historically. He indicate that the sort of peace that is worth work ing for can come only slowly, through th operation of many factors, and through ac curate, precise intellectual effort. The follows a discussion of five of the element common to both war and peace: reason culture, emotion, economic activity, an force. In Part II, "American Commit ments," President Wriston looks for th deep roots of America's foreign policy Only as one takes the long view of th historian can he hope to evaluate presen tendencies. Since they have their origi in past events, today's policies can b comprehended only in the light of thos events. There is continuity in our be havior toward other nations. This mus be understood by any who would be help ful critics of our national attitudes. Thre factors operate to distort our vision: mood of pessimism, the vogue of geopol tics, and the war. Making allowance fo these factors, the book goes on to trea each of America's commitments rea istically.

Part III deals with "A Basic Treaty Peace." Four factors determining th form and structure of a sound peace treat are discussed and their implicatio pointed out: the size of the problem, th nature of a coalition, the variety of Amer can opinion, and our constitution peculiarity, "arising from the special r lationship of the Senate to foreign rel tions." At the conclusion of this book treaty is suggested and each article e plained.

J.C.W.

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Current Films

These estimates of current films are offered in response to the action of the General Assembly, 1933, requesting such a previewing service to be made available from the Department of Social Education and Action. The following evaluations are based on "Selected Pictures" issued by the National Board of Review. Their inclusion in this listing is not to be construed as recommendation but as the best available comment on current films.

A Tree Grows in Brooklyn—with Dorothy McGuire, Joan Blondell, and James Dunn. (Twentieth Century-Fox.) Adapted from Betty Smith's novel. The story remains essentially unchanged, but simplification for the screen has shifted the emphases, toned down its laughter, and shortened the story. It is the story of a family in the Brooklyn slums: the small happenings in the life of its little daughter, and the struggles between her bewildered young mother, who fights to make something of her children, and the irresponsible father, who gives nothing but dreams and gaiety that make everyone laugh and feel better. The character portrayals are skillful and are real and moving, and the entire picture is a sensitive and unforgettable study of family relationships. **Family.**

Objective Burma—with Errol Flynn. (Warner Bros.) A well-made war adventure story. Two platoons of paratroops are sent to destroy a radar station in Jap-held Burma to clear the way for a major Allied invasion of that country. They succeed in their mission but are ambushed before they can be flown back to their own lines. The only hope of escape left them is a two-hundred-mile march through the jungle, a terrain thickly infested with the enemy. The agony of the trek and constant brushes with the Jap reduce their number to a handful. Heroism, humor, hope, fear, horror, characterize the terrible ordeal in a fairly realistic manner. The film is definitely inspirational but with a good quantity of documentation to give the illusion of fact. Flynn plays the captain with understanding and skill. But the strongest emotional impetus comes from the men who follow him. They do a brilliant job. The photography is well enough out of the ordinary to warrant mention too. **Family.**

This Man's Navy—with Wallace Beery, James Gleason. (Metro-Goldwin-Mayer.) A good Beery vehicle, this, giving him lots of opportunity to show off his very real talents to fine advantage. A noncommissioned officer in lighter-than-air service, he takes under his wing a crippled boy, is instrumental in getting him cured and into the service, and passes him off as his son. The heroics are numerous and spectacular, if not very plausible. The film is well written and well directed. But it is the give-and-take comradeship of Beery and Gleason that gives the picture its delightful charm and punch. **Family.**

Thunderhead (Son of Flicka)—with Roddy McDowall. (Twentieth Century-Fox.) A pleasant, simple story of a white horse. In the spring, when the herd returns to the ranch of Ken's father, Flicka brings an albino foal with her. Ken adopts the young creature as his own and raises him for the sweepstakes. In his first race Thunderhead, the now fully grown horse, loses because of a pulled tendon and ends his chances as a race horse. Returned to the herd that is now sadly depleted by a wild white stallion that raids it periodically and drives off the best mares, Thunderhead meets the marauding animal, kills him, and returns the stolen mares to Ken's ranch. The story is slight and the human stars are but lightly characterized. These are trivial criticisms. Rich color, magnificent scenery, and lordly animals enthrall the eye, providing their own excitement, drama, and emotion. **Family.**

Roughly Speaking—with Rosalind Russell, Jack Carson. (Warner Bros.) Covering forty years of an American woman's life, as does the book, this film carries its heroine from a pampered girlhood through the full career produced by two marriages and five children. It takes a long time, and the early half of the film, given over to a conscious study of the quaint people and customs of the early 1900's, moves particularly slowly. Things come alive with the advent of the second husband, Jack Carson, and the scenes in which children and parents share responsibilities in the family's incessant ups and downs have genuine comedy and pathos. Rosalind Russell, although superficial as the spunky mother, is her usual lively self, and Jack Carson makes it believable that one can be poor and still have fun. If the film never realizes its possibilities, it is still entertaining and possibly helpful. **Family.**

Tonight and Every Night—with Rita Hayworth, Lee Bowman, Janet Blair, Marc Platt. (Columbia.) Technicolor, good tunes, a fine cast, and a lavish production make the film a lively and colorful musical show. With a rather better plot than most movies of this kind, it manages to present several song and dance sequences without slowing down the film's pace. Marc Platt, a dancer new to Hollywood, unfortunately is seen too little, but he figures brilliantly in the flashes given him. Misses Hayworth and Blair are delightful to eye and ear in the other song and dance numbers. The plot, laid in blitzed London, is built around a variety theater that will not close down in spite of air raids and its star who falls in love with an R.A.F. pilot. **Family.**